

ellowship



JOHN M. SWOMLEY, JR. *Secretary*

ff We begin a many-issue debate on the political temper of pacifists with a John Swomley article on definitions. His case for a post-liberal pacifism that takes into account something of the nature and destiny of man claimed by neo-orthodox theology, itself initially a revolt against liberalism in religion, is simply and challengingly put. . . . Because colonial troops are still stationed in British Guiana, ostensibly to protect that outpost from a "serious Communist menace," the questions raised by Emrys Hughes in his House of Commons speech of last fall remain unanswered. . . . *Ending the Horse-Thief Menace* needs no word of introduction or compliment. It pleads its cause brightly. . . . Not so *Morality in Politics*, which sounds like an abstract—and dull—argument for putting that particular house in order. It isn't. It's background material on the interesting Aprista Party of Peru.

FELLOWSHIP

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Disarmament

A lot of well-intentioned Americans desperately anxious for peace have seen in recent developments hope for a new approach to the deadlocked question of disarmament. They believe that the time may have come when the Communist nations and the Free World can find real steps to halt the armaments race short of its inevitable "finish line," as one liberal magazine expresses it, of war.

There is danger in this illusion that it is armaments that create the danger to peace. Pacifists do not believe in the wholesome aspects of an arms race any more than a psychiatrist believes in the wholesome aspects of neurotic behavior, but no more than the psychiatrist dare they confuse the symptom with the underlying causes that it reflects.

Nations have frequently made the most solemn agreements not to resort to war. The United Nations charter, signed by both the United States and the Soviet Union, outlaws "the threat or use of force." Such commitments mean little. Discussion of disarmament will have to get down to a great deal more basic level before it will hold any real hope of lasting peace.

"Free World"

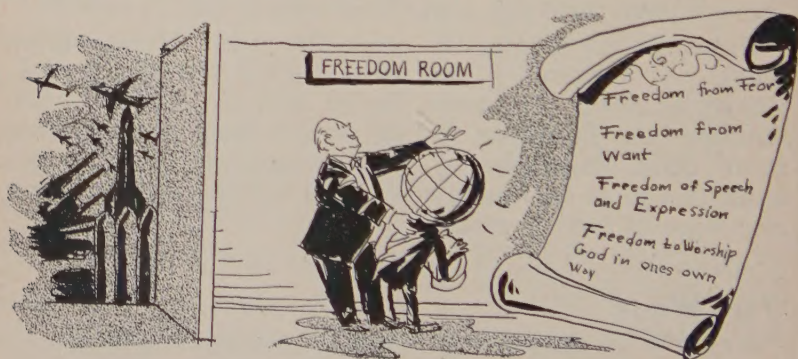
A clue to the direction in which the search for peace must go if it is to succeed lies in the bland acceptance of the term "the free world" as descriptive of the anti-Communist na-

tions. It is a propaganda term, of course, but it is also a mark of the complacency with which Americans view themselves and their system of government.

In a radio "interview" the other evening a political economist gave a clear, accurate and understandable ten-minute definition of Marxism, not overlooking the sins of the capitalist and imperialist society out of which it had erupted. Yet at the conclusion, he suggested that the most effective way of combatting Communism among the poverty-stricken people of Asia and Africa is to "tell them convincingly and repeatedly just how well off Americans are under capitalism."

It is hard to think of anything more likely to turn millions of angry Asians to the Communists, yet it is not an unusual attitude. Perhaps because of the diet of formula-fiction on which Americans have been reared, there is a tendency to portray the world struggle in terms of the "bad guys," who are the Communists, and the "good guys," who are ourselves. The bad guys are trying to take from us the things that are rightfully ours, and it is up to everybody else to come to our aid in repelling them. We tend to believe that if only we can get everyone to know the "truth" of the Communists' iniquity and our virtue, the fight is as good as won.

The truth is that in the eyes of millions the United States



is an anachronism. It is fantastically rich in a world much of which lives on the edge of starvation. It is smug about its free speech and free press in a world much of which is illiterate and preoccupied with the bare fact of survival. It is complacent about the status quo in a world two-thirds of which finds the status quo intolerable. Even if its prosperity and complacency were solely the products of an obvious and surpassing virtue, they would breed resentment; as it is, there are enough unlovely and greedy aspects of American society to give real substance to the Communists' persistent charges against us.

When more than half a world throbs with resentment and rebellion, determined to get a better deal for itself, it is fair to speak of the times as a revolutionary age. In a revolutionary age, only revolutionary thinking holds the hope of extricating the world from its dilemma. Conventional diplomacy will not do it. Stockpiling of atomic and hydrogen bombs that have only the negative potentiality of wiping us all off the map will not do it.

The pacifist holds that revolutionary thinking in this context is not preeminently political but moral. It must begin for Americans with a sense of repentance for our own sins: the dropping of the first atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki; the extent to which we have allowed materialism to dominate our attitudes to our fellows; the self-centredness that dilutes even the help we give other nations with self-serving conditions; the kind of total faith in militarism with which this historically anti-militarist nation is becoming identified.

That kind of attitude would have dynamic political potentialities, but it cannot be created by political means. It must grow in individuals personally committed to the notion of brotherhood, charged with the spirit of the Sermon on the Mount as the only effective means of constructing a world fit for men to live in.

China and India

Fairly often the issue is defined as a choice between freedom and totalitarianism, between the methods of democracy

and those of dictatorship. Those who define it thus find it hard to understand how there can be any real question of choice there, and conclude that coercion must be involved wherever men turn to the Communists.

A recent dispatch from India gives a dramatic insight into the real complexities involved. India and China face similar problems. Both are ancient countries, with primitive economies. Both need vastly improved methods of agriculture, huge flood-control and irrigation projects, an enormously expanded industrial plant. To meet the needs of their populations and the competition of the rest of the world, they need these things in a hurry.

India is trying to get them democratically. Democracy in this context means a tax level acceptable to the people, the use of free labor, decisions made democratically. India is putting roughly 3 percent of the national income into this effort.

China, with a different definition of democracy, raises the money and labor that it needs without regard to the wishes of the individuals concerned. If taxes take half or more of the peasant's crop, that is too bad. If the only labor available to build a dam is conscript labor, that is too bad, too. The taxes are raised and the labor conscripted. China puts roughly 45 percent of her national income into the job.

In a few years, at that rate, China will have left India far behind and Asia will have had demonstrated once again the "efficiency" of Communism as compared with democracy.

It is an interesting footnote that 45 percent of India's national income would probably be less than half the United States' annual arms appropriations!

Prediction

We know practically nothing about atomic power, but we'd be willing to wager that when it becomes "cheap and plentiful" enough so that a bit of stuff the size of a pea will be sufficient to run your car all day, the bit of stuff the size of a pea will cost you just a little bit more than enough high-test gasoline to run your car all day.

a post— liberal Pacifism

by John M. Swomley, Jr.

CHRISTIAN pacifism has been under attack in the churches and colleges since the beginning of World War II. The attack has been led largely by religious spokesmen who have rejected theological liberalism for neo-orthodoxy.

Even before the outbreak of World War II, liberalism had been questioned by a growing number of religious thinkers. Personal and social change was proceeding at such a pace and with such dire consequences that some theologians no longer could accept the easy optimism of a more or less inevitable progress toward a better society. They saw the depths to which men could sink in their dealings with other men. They saw the gathering war clouds, the dictatorship and oppression. They felt there should be a greater recognition of man's sinfulness instead of the emphasis, often glib, on the "God in every man."

It is not surprising that they should attack the then-dominant theological school of liberalism as providing a superficial analysis of

In a recent debate at Yale Divinity School, the question to which two pacifists and two non-pacifists spoke was: "Is there a post-liberal pacifism?" As the chairman pointed out, there are today pacifists of all shades and varieties of theological thinking. In this article the FOR Secretary defines some of these varieties. Future issues will carry further articles on this subject; readers are invited to join the debate.

man's nature and of social processes. They did not confine themselves, however, to attacking liberalism in general. They singled out pacifism for special attention, identifying liberalism as the soil out of which modern pacifism had grown.

Some, even, placed upon pacifism much of the blame for the rise of Hitler and other dictators as well as for the spread of war.

Their attack centered on the religious pacifists who consciously

engaged in political and social action, rather than on vocational pacifists, or non-resisters like the Mennonites.

During the war, some pacifists replied to such neo-orthodox charges by suggesting that the theologians who were most vocal in denouncing pacifists were also most active and outspoken in behalf of partisan political interests, including their own variety of nationalism. The implication was that neo-orthodoxy was simply a convenient rationale for churchmen to participate in and support the horrors of war.

Political Liberalism

Partly as a result of this neo-orthodox analysis and partly as a result of the times in which we live, many pacifists modified or abandoned their liberalism of the twenties and thirties. Pacifism, of course, was never dependent on liberalism, either in Europe or in America, for there have been pacifists identified with many theological schools. Although there is less identification of pacifism with liberalism than in the pre-war days, it is not so clear that the neo-orthodox critics of pacifism have renounced liberalism. With rare exceptions, the theologically neo-orthodox are political liberals. They have tended, rather, to provide a theological rationale which at one and the same time permits them to criticize liberalism while continuing to function as liberals.

Political liberalism can be described in the following five ways:

1) It idealizes evolution, instead of revolution, as the method for social change. It therefore tends to think in terms of a program of

legal, economic and political reforms for dealing with the present world scene, even though the present situation is becoming more and more revolutionary. Having rejected in advance a revolutionary program, the non-pacifist political liberal finds himself in a position of supporting war in behalf of the status quo rather than any act of civil disobedience or revolution, however creative or nonviolent it might be.

2) It emphasizes as its goal the greatest happiness of the greatest number. Liberty, which is an important emphasis of liberalism, is impossible without a reasonable degree of security. Social security and stability are, therefore, as much an object of political policy as liberty. This emphasis is the basis for the liberal's advocacy of the welfare state.

Warfare State

3) It is, in a real sense, the culmination of the whole Western political tradition of political democracy and social and economic security for the whole population. It tends, therefore, to identify itself with Western culture. The non-pacifist liberal to all practical purposes tends also to support and promote the warfare state as the protector of Western culture.

4) It is based on the assumption that government exists to protect all essential interests. It does not think of government as functioning in the interests of one class. A primary function of government in the liberal view is to maintain the conditions or the agencies by which conflicts of interest can be adjusted with as little coercion as possible. This seems to be an un-

realistic appraisal of modern governments either as they operate domestically or on the world scene.

5) It holds that policy is determined more by the influence of intangibles, such as moral ideas and social influences on politics, as opposed simply to political or class organization. It is significant that many neo-orthodox leaders function within Americans for Democratic Action and, in New York State, in the Liberal Party, both of which are regarded chiefly as an influence on the Democratic Party rather than as politically responsible groups in their own right.

The political liberal (even though theologically neo-orthodox) is still optimistic about the evolutionary method in a revolutionary world, about the ability of a huge military establishment to serve as a deterrent to war, and about war as a method for preserving Western culture.

Liberal Pacifism

Despite the impact of neo-orthodoxy, there is still a considerable emphasis on pacifism. Liberal pacifism is characterized by some or all of the following:

1) A belief in social change by evolution or gradualism. It is reformist rather than revolutionary in nature.

2) A fundamentally optimistic analysis that emphasizes the essential goodness of the opponent, as well as man in general.

3) An optimism which tends to make a success story out of the Cross, and in so doing underestimates the cost of the changes which are being sought.

4) A tendency to view everyone's

goal as the same (no one wants war) and consequently a belief that war can be averted by an accommodation of interests. This has led to an uncritical emphasis on negotiation as a method for solving the present power struggle.

5) A belief in political formulae for achieving more or less inevitable progress. This, together with optimism about, and the emphasis on legal and political reformism has led to political faith in world government and universal disarmament.

Not Revolutionary

6) A tendency to be primarily individualistic as well as a tendency to simplify social and political problems. It has largely failed to think in terms of nonviolent action as a social and political strategy.

7) A failure to recognize the class struggle which is taking place in many nations throughout the world today.

8) Liberal pacifism depends for its existence chiefly on the kind of conditions which we find in Western civilization.

There is, however, a post-liberal pacifism which might be described by the following six points:

1) Post-liberal pacifism is revolutionary as opposed to reformist in its political analysis and in its strategy for effecting social change. It recognizes that some change will be evolutionary but believes that, in the present world situation, drastic and quick social change is necessary and in some cases inevitable. It supports nonviolent movements for social change as in India and South Africa, and seeks to stimulate such activity. It does not

believe in the possibility of saving the present civilization by some slight or easy amelioration.

2) It is therefore more akin to an apocalyptic outlook, for it does not look upon the world scene with unqualified optimism. Insofar as this pacifism does not engage in revolutionary action, it acts on the basis of a witness which refuses to accept or give loyalty to the present culture.

3) It makes a more realistic analysis of Communism, the U.S.-U.S.S.R. power struggle and of the world scene generally, than that view which suggests that there can be an easy accommodation of interests between the East and West.

4) It emphasizes the sin in both our opponents and ourselves and repentance as the pre-condition for God's operating through us. This repentance it also asks of the church and the nation.

5) It puts less trust in political formulae and more on fundamental change of persons and institutions, especially the Church. Unless there is a willingness on the part of the

people to sacrifice power advantages and special privilege, political formulae such as negotiation and universal disarmament are not likely to mean very much.

6) It holds that the distinctive sociological mission of the Church is revolutionary and that the Church should not be identified with the existing culture as the liberals and neo-orthodox alike tend to identify it. Although the early Church quite possibly did not think in terms of a revolutionary strategy, it was, in effect, a revolutionary group in the society of which it was a part; rather than a bulwark of the existing structure as it is today.

There are two things that bind all pacifists together. One is the fact that all are conscientious objectors when it comes to participation in war. The second is the fact that all seek to engage in peace-making activity that will prevent and end war. A third factor ought to characterize us—namely, a constant re-examination both of our faith and the witness by which we seek to function as peacemakers.

Even on the assumption that the "tool" of war, though used in the past for such evil ends as plunder, tribute, imperialism, and military glory, is now in the service of relatively good ends like the suppression of tyranny, it is still a tool which the social pathologist regards as covered with the germs of an advanced case of communicable disease. . . .

Sociology rules out the concept of war as a tool with which to protect the culture, since today war is not occasional, accidental, or peripheral. War is the culture of our age and the culture is war. It is an amiable optimism that sees in war not the maniac who will destroy democracy but the slave who will obediently serve it.

Excerpt, *The Christian Conscience and War*

IRON hand and WOODEN head

by Emrys Hughes, M.P.

UNTIL recently I was completely ignorant about British Guiana. When I first heard about events there on the wireless, I knew very little about the colony, and when I heard that Welsh and Scottish soldiers were getting ready to be sent to British Guiana I tried to discover something of what it was all about.

If the Secretary of State to the Colonies were so anxious about democracy and the Constitution and so much opposed to totalitarianism and all the other things we heard about yesterday, I think he might at least have seen that Parliament was called together before he made an important decision of this kind and became the Oliver Cromwell of the suppression of the constitution in British Guiana.

When constituents asked me, "What is this about British troops going to British Guiana? What is going on here?" I had to reply, "I do not know. The British Constitution has been suspended and British Members of Parliament do not know."

A Member of Parliament speaks to the House of Commons in indictment of Colonial Secretary Oliver Lyttelton's motion sending British troops to British Guiana in October, 1953. The speech, delivered October 23, questions the wisdom of helping colonial governors deal with internal affairs by a show of British armed might. The Dr. Jagan referred to is, of course, Prime Minister Cheddi Jagan, ousted leader of the People's Progressive Party.

Only at this stage, when British soldiers are in Guiana, are we able to tell the soldiers what the position is. Perhaps we shall have a simplified version of the White Paper for the benefit of the soldiers, illustrated with photographs of all the leading participants, with details about the dividends of the sugar companies and the gold companies and a frontispiece of a photograph of a gentleman who is chairman of the West Indies Com-

mittee of the Conservative Party, who yesterday told us that he was a leading shareholder in one of the gold companies.

I believe British soldiers ought to know what they are going to fight for and what they are to defend; and I think what they are going to defend is a classic example of British imperialism, the squalor and the poverty and the sight of the exploiting classes in this country, represented by the Conservative Government, carrying on a traditional policy of British political imperialism when an issue of this kind arises.

"Bret Harte Camp"

I want to produce for the Secretary of State a quotation about British Guiana from what I regard as an independent witness. I am sure the Secretary of State for the Colonies will not scoff at an important American paper called *Newsweek*. This is what I read about British Guiana in *Newsweek*:

All but a handful of the people of British Guiana are underpaid and undernourished. An incredible rural slum lines the 25-mile narrow dirt road between Atkinson Field, a U.S. military base during the war, and Georgetown the capital. People and animals live together in thatched huts or rotted wooden shanties.

I hope British soldiers are not going to be billeted there. It would be far better if they were billeted in the homes of the settlers to protect the homes we were told were to be burned down. It says:

The stench is overpowering. Georgetown itself represents a Bret Harte camp on the U.S.

frontier. The colonial economy, complex mixture of races and dismal poverty, the slowed progress towards self-government, have provided ideal ground for Communists.

There was an ideal ground for Communists before ever Moscow heard of British Guiana or before ever we heard of Dr. Jagan. If this is an impartial American point of view, we can imagine a very large section of American public opinion is reading this and saying, "British imperialism is up to its old tricks again." Because although America has its own brand of imperialism, there are a large number of Americans and influential American newspaper people who do not like our British imperialism.

Asset to Communism

Of course, America is bound to take a little interest in the struggle of an American state for independence. I remember, on one of the first days of this news, seeing in the paper, "Washington approves of the Colonial Secretary." (*Interruption.*) Who is Washington? I am surprised an honorable gentleman opposite asks that because if he had been living in the time of Washington he would not have called him a Communist; he would have called him a rebel, and all the Tory members and all the reactionary, capitalistic press of this country would have been saying worse things about George Washington than they have said about Dr. Jagan.

This combination of the iron hand and the wooden head is one that has stalked through British history through hundreds of years and is now doing the same thing

again. He (the Colonial Secretary) does not realize he is the reincarnation of Lord North. He is talking about Communists. He is a Communist plot. He is the greatest asset to Communism in the world today.

He does not realize this. It is a peculiar thing that he does not. He has created more Communism in a few days than Dr. Jagan could do in twenty years, and it is not only in the West Indies. It is right throughout the whole colonial world.

The Communists say, "We do not believe in parliamentary democracy because at the appropriate moment they will use parliamentary democracy against us," and the result is today that they can show not only in the West Indies but throughout the world that British imperialism is at its old game and suppressing a British constitution.

The Last Laugh

In America, not only the people who think in terms of George Washington, but the people who think in terms of Ireland, will recognize this phenomenon, and so will the people of India because Dr. Jagan is an Indian. I remember that when Pandit Nehru was here he was entertained in the House of Commons, and I had the privilege of having a few minutes conversation with him. He said to me, "How long were you in gaol?" I said, "Only three years." He said I was lucky and added, "I was in for seven."

I remember the time, and we all remember the time, when they sneered and laughed at Nehru and put him in gaol for seven years. I remember when the Prime Minis-

ter talked about Gandhi as the half-naked figure striding up to the Vice-regal Lodge in Delhi. Unfortunately the Conservatives do not learn anything from history, and here they are trying on a small scale exactly the same old policy of repression, which will ultimately end in disaster so far as this country as an imperial power is concerned.

Unreliability of Police

What are these soldiers to see there? I should like to know if the Colonial Secretary can tell us where they are to be placed and what are to be their duties. Are they to be allowed to fraternize with the civil population? It is very dangerous for British troops to fraternize with a civil population which is so violently Communist. A report was circulated from the Colonial Office, during the recess, that 75 percent of the police were already unreliable.

When the Berlin police were declared unreliable, our capitalist press said, "Hurrah, it is a very good thing." They were delighted to see that the police in Berlin were unreliable. When Russian tanks were brought into Berlin and the German government in Berlin was suppressed, the press said that this was a great victory for European democracy. What is to happen now?

One of the great planks of our foreign policy is the demanding of free elections for East Germany. Now, at the appropriate moment when free elections are coming along, we, who are supposed to be the greatest champions of democracy in the world, have suppressed free elections in a British colony.

What the Colonial Secretary has

done is to give Mr. Vishinsky a few more effective arguments which will be listened to in the outside world.

I have tried to find out who owns British Guiana. There is nothing about it in the White Paper. It is very natural that Scottish soldiers will be saying, "Who owns this place?" So far as I can ascertain, a big slice of British Guiana is owned by British capitalist interests. We had, for example, the honorable gentleman who spoke yesterday, who is chairman of the Gold Company and chairman of the West Indies Committee of the Conservative Party. I find that his company owns 35,000 acres in British Guiana. The Colonial Secretary may doubt that, but that information was obtained from a book which he regards as his Bible—the "Stock Exchange Handbook"—and I do not think that it can be wrong. The soldiers will want to know what this is all about.

Dirty Work

What I think is likely to happen is that when the soldiers have had time to look round—if they are not to be kept imprisoned in their barracks—the smelly, poverty-stricken areas of Georgetown and round about, they will be far more liable to become Communists than if they had been kept at home. This will be the Colonial Secretary's dilemma. The soldiers will look around and, presumably, they will talk to the people, some of whom are earning £1, £2 or £2 10s. in a week, and they will find very much the same social conditions as those under which they are exploited at home.

What rights will the soldiers have

about the length of time they are to remain there? They were not consulted before they were sent to British Guiana. They were not even given a White Paper. They were just told, "Go."

They did not even have the opportunities which are given to repatriated prisoners. They have to stay. They have to do the dirty work of the British exploiter and the incompetent British government.

A Challenge

I have a challenge to make to the Secretary of State. Will he give these soldiers the option of coming home after they have spent a fortnight looking around this piece of smelly Empire? Of course he will not. When the soldiers see the people working in the plantations, they will say, "We are British soldiers." The people working in the plantations will reply, "Oh, yes, you are the slaves in uniform. Shake hands."

The trouble with the Colonial Secretary is that he is hopelessly ignorant of the elementary facts about Communism. He does not understand what this movement which is spreading over the world is about and if he thinks that he can stop Communism by this kind of action in the twentieth century, all I can say is that he is only at the beginning of his disillusionment.

We heard a great deal in the debate yesterday about the prospect of the whole place being set on fire. That was one of the reasons why the soldiers were sent to British Guiana. What is happening in relation to the Scottish soldiers? I understand that 600 of them—a

quarter of whom are conscripts—were sent from Edinburgh barracks and placed on an aircraft carrier which made its slow progress to British Guiana. If the Colonial Secretary was really perturbed about the possibility of a campaign of arson, why did he not fly the troops out?

These troops were, presumably, on the high seas for a fortnight, and although the government was apparently so anxious to prevent fire-raising during that period, nobody appears to have struck a match. What are those troops now there for? What are they going to do there? How long will they be there? Are they to act as potential members of the fire brigade, or what? All I know is that after seven days they will be cursing the Colonial Secretary and the people who sent them.

Wanted: An Explanation

Here we are, faced with something which is not going to be a small affair. I understand that Dr. Jagan has made a very alarming statement, that he is in favor of nonviolence and a campaign of non-cooperation. That is not arson, but it is a very dangerous thing for a people who make profits out of the goldfields and the sugar plantations of British Guiana. Here we have the possibility of a cam-

paign of non-cooperation which would paralyze military preparations. On behalf of the relatives and friends of British soldiers, our forced labor, shoved out to the West Indies, I want an explanation of what is the position and what the Minister is to say to them.

Is British Guiana to be another trouble spot in the world? We have British conscripts in Malaya and in the Suez Canal and in all the trouble spots of the world and here is another one, created as a result of the ineptitude of the Colonial Secretary. We should remember that every time these blunders take place in some part of the world—and goodness knows where it will happen next—another lot of soldiers is sent away.

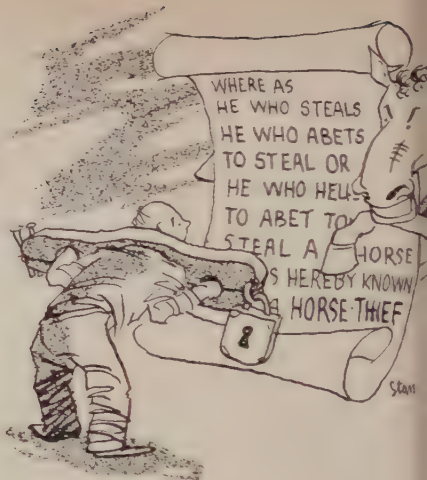
The barrel is being scraped. Competent military authorities tell me they are alarmed because there are no British soldiers here to protect us at all. We have been told that the argument for conscripting soldiers, the argument for a great British army, is that it is needed to protect us. I say they are not being used to protect us; they are being used in the interests of British imperialism and British capitalism, and that if they had a chance to come home they would do so.

I ask the Colonial Secretary to give them a chance, and they will be home by the next boat.

What amazes me more than all else is the impotence of force to organize anything. There are only two powers in the world: the spirit and the sword. In the long run the sword will always be conquered by the spirit.

Napoleon at St. Helena

Ending the Horse-Thief Menace



by Edwin A. Rothschild

THE horse thieves must be stopped. No state has effective laws to stop them. In Illinois, for example, the only statute directed at horse thieves is the Act of March 2, 1875 (Ill. Rev. Stat., ch. 38, sec. 397), which provides as follows:

Horse stealing. Whoever feloniously takes or steals away any horse, mule, or ass shall be imprisoned in the penitentiary not less than three nor more than twenty years. The words "horse," "mule," "ass" shall include animals of both sexes¹ and all ages.

The law is inadequate. It punishes no one except the person who has been caught stealing a horse. The typical horse thief does not get caught stealing horses. He steals horses without getting caught or else he does not steal horses at all. Either device enables him to slip through the loopholes of the present law.

A new law is essential. We need a law which defines the thief as well as the horse. We need a law which will expose horse thieves and drive them from public life. A bill for such a law is submitted herewith.

Section 1. Definitions

(a) "Horse" means each and every animal which can be identified as a horse, including, without limiting the generality of the foregoing, plough horses, saddle horses, cow ponies, milk horses, race horses, mules, burros, asses, donkeys, ponies, colts, nags, mustangs, and every other horse of every kind, nature, and handicap whatsoever, of any one or more or less sexes,² sizes, weights, ages, races, creeds, colors, or combinations thereof.

(b) "Horse thief" means any person who steals, attempts to steal, or aids in the stealing of a

horse, or advocates, abets, advises, or teaches by any means any person to steal, attempt to steal, or aid in the stealing of a horse, or in the commission of any act intended to facilitate the stealing of horses or who is a member of or affiliated with any horse-thief front organization.

(c) "Horse-thief front organization" means any organization, corporation, company, partnership, association, trust, foundation, fund, club, society, committee, political party, gang, or any groups of persons, whether or not incorporated, permanently or temporarily associated together for action or advancement of views on any subject or subjects one of the purposes of which is advocating, abetting, advising, or teaching the desirability of any action, advocacy, abetting, advice, or instruction, which will advance or facilitate in any material respect the stealing of horses.

Under this section no one will be able to deny he is a horse thief merely because he has not stolen a horse.

Section 2. *It shall be a felony to be a horse thief.*

This is preventive jurisprudence. It is folly to await the commission of a crime before restraining the

criminal. Why lock the stable after the horse is stolen?

Section 3. *Any person convicted of violating Section 2 shall be imprisoned in the penitentiary for not less than fifteen or more than one hundred years.*

This is five times as effective as the present law.³

Section 4. *No person shall hold any office of trust or profit within the state or be employed by any agency of the state or by any agency receiving tax exemption from or paying taxes to the state unless he shall take the following oath:*

"I swear (or affirm) that I am not now and never have been and will not be, during my term of office or employment, a horse thief, a crypto-horse thief,⁴ or associated in any way with any agency heretofore or hereafter designated as a horse-thief front organization by any federal, state, county, or municipal official."

This is a very effective provision. It is a well-known fact that no horse thief would dare to take a false oath. Other people should be proud to swear that they are not horse thieves.⁵

Section 5. *No person presently employed within the state shall*

Edwin A. Rothschild

... is a member of the Chicago law firm of Sonnenschein, Berkson, Lautmann, Levinson, and Morse; in 1951-1953 he was chairman of the Committee on Civil Rights of the Chicago Bar Association. This essay appeared in the *Chicago Bar Record* and is published here with permission.

be continued in employment unless he shall establish beyond a reasonable doubt that he is not suspected of being a horse thief.

Since this is not a criminal provision, it is proper to place the burden of proof upon the employee. Who knows better than he whether or not he is a horse thief? People who work for other people should be above suspicion.

Section 6. *All other laws on the subject shall be continued in force.*

Two laws are better than one.

Section 7. *This law may be cited*

as the Anti-Horse-Thief Act of 1953.

What kind of people do you think would oppose an anti-horse-thief act?

1 Some people steal geldings.

2 See footnote 1.

3 Sentimentalists may say that this section is severe. Have the sentimentalists thought of what the horse thieves would do if they were in power?

4 One who, if he had seen a horse and could have stolen it, would have liked to. Webster, 3rd ed.

5 They should also be proud to swear that they are not pickpockets, burglars, Communists, juvenile delinquents, confidence men, murderers, anarchists, or traffic violators. Appropriate legislation is recommended.

Those Who Speak Loudest

I think it is high time for the United States Senate and its members to do some soul searching—for us to weigh our consciences—on the way we are performing our duty to the people of America, on the way we are using or abusing our individual powers and privileges. I think that it is high time we remembered that we have sworn to uphold and defend the Constitution. I think that it is high time we remembered that the Constitution, as amended, speaks not only of freedom of speech but also of trial by jury instead of trial by accusation.

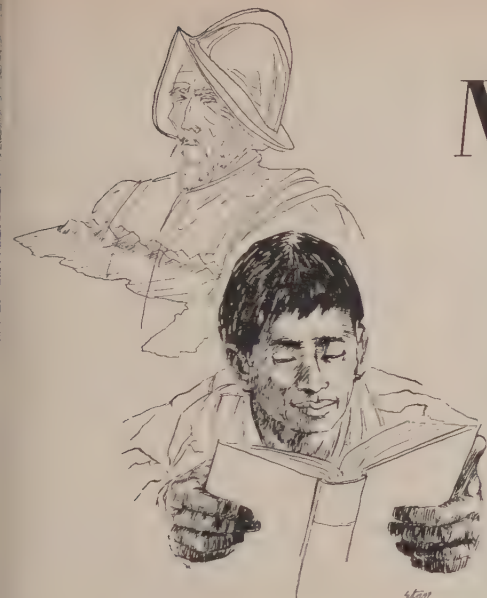
Whether it be a criminal prosecution in court or a character prosecution in the Senate, there is little practical distinction when the life of a person has been ruined.

Those of us who shout the loudest about Americanism in making character assassinations are all too frequently those who, by our own words and acts, ignore some of the basic principles of Americanism: namely, the right to criticize; the right to hold unpopular beliefs; the right to protest; the right of independent thought. The exercise of these rights should not cost one single American citizen his reputation or his right to a livelihood, nor should he be in danger of losing his reputation or livelihood merely because he happens to know someone who holds unpopular beliefs—who of us doesn't?

Senator Margaret Chase Smith,
Excerpt from *The Nation*, December 13,
1953

MORALITY IN POLITICS

by Harry Kantor



IT IS customary for political parties to paint glowing pictures of the good life the adoption of their program would foster. Party leaders assure the voters that they are honest and desirous of efficient, impartial administration. Few parties, however, concern themselves with the moral attitudes and personal lives of their followers. One which does is the *Alianza Popular Revolucionaria Americana*, the Aprista movement in Peru.

The Apristas look upon Peru as a country in which the imposition of Spanish rule by force created a society based upon injustice. They believe that this unjust organization of society has continued to this day and that the present Peruvian ruling class cannot com-

prehend anything but the continuation of the *status quo*. Having as their ideal a "free, just, enlightened, and great country," Aprista leaders stigmatize the *status quo* as corrupt. They maintain that as power is the business of the Peruvian rulers, the crisis in Peru is primarily moral.

The Apristas see themselves as soldiers in a crusade, seekers of an educational purification that will transform Peru from a corrupt and backward country into a modern democracy. They are interested in economics and a high standard of living, but more important, they want a renovation within Peru that will create a new country populated by a morally changed people. "The world," they say,

"does not wish for bread alone because man does not live by bread alone." They feel that the people of the world are seeking a way of life that contains both economic and spiritual satisfactions. Aprista philosophy, they claim, describes that way of life.

Faith that a better world can be created is the motivating force of the Aprista movement. "The Peruvian Aprista Party," its leaders have written, "aspires to national renovation through the progress and well-being of all Peruvians; through the education of the eighty percent of our people who do not know how to read or write; through the material and spiritual redemption of our people by the improvement of its youth." By expressing active concern for all areas of life, Apra (as the organization is often called) aspires to be a brotherhood rather than just another political party. One of its slogans reads: "One for all, all for one. Brothers in the struggle, brothers in sorrow, brothers in victory."

A Moral Crusade

The Apristas advocate clean living for their followers. They ask them to try to be mentally and physically strong, to guard their health by exercising and by avoiding "the laxness and licentiousness of the tropics." Emphasizing that people are not born in order to eat, sleep and act selfishly, they urge their followers to do useful work and not to spend their time arguing in restaurants and cafes. A good Aprista must be honorable. He must "read, study, think, discipline the mind more and more, and strengthen the spiritual powers." He must not use the Aprista

name to improve his private business, must not associate with conservative Peruvian elements nor, if an intellectual, look down upon the workers.

In the code of action drawn up for the guidance of the Aprista youth organization are gathered precepts which the leaders of the movement endeavor to have their youthful followers make a part of their lives. The code begins: "Apra youth; prepare yourself for action and not for pleasure. This is thy law." Then follow forty-eight rules of conduct, heavy in stressing honesty, sincerity and punctuality. The young Aprista should love the oppressed people of the world. He should avoid foul language, tobacco, coca, alcohol, cards, sexual sensualism, frivolous or pornographic films. Cleanliness, good health habits and the enjoyment of nature are condoned. This concern for the personal habits and ideals of its membership gives the Aprista movement its crusading character. Its leadership is aware that its ideals are high and that no great ideal is ever achieved easily. The most prominent Aprista, Victor Raul Haya de la Torre, has gone so far as to compare the Apristas, persecuted by the Peruvian dictatorship, to Christ suffering on the Cross. Just as Christ had to suffer to accomplish his aims so the Apristas must suffer to achieve their aim of the moral regeneration of Peru.

Nonviolent Revolution

Apristas are opposed to the idea that a good end justifies evil means of attainment. They seek "more worthy and more sane methods of struggle" than those customarily

used in Peruvian politics. This search has led to their insistence upon achieving power without the use of violence. They want their force to be the enthusiasm of the people. They feel that Peru has had too much violence, too many *caudillos*, too much undemocratic government. To bring significant change to Peru, therefore, the Apristas rise to power will be a peaceful process.

At the same time that the Apristas disclaim violence, they insist upon the revolutionary character of their movement. They hold that "it is possible to be revolutionary and to make a revolution without resorting to violence." Haya de la Torre often points to Christ, Tolstoy and Gandhi as examples of nonviolent revolutionaries. He knows, of course, that violence often attends revolutionary change, but he and other leaders of the Apra oppose violence for its own sake, as they oppose a revolution whose only purpose is to obtain power. They claim that they desire power to change for the better the organization of Peruvian society.

When the dictatorship of General Maximiliano Hernandez Martinez in El Salvador was overthrown by a civil disobedience movement and general strike, Haya de la Torre published an article applauding this technique for fighting oppression. As he saw the Salvadorean movement, it was "the best means for hastening wholesome and educational changes toward liberty (without) great bloodshed." The moral force let loose in that revolt is the kind that the Apristas want to see become a regular part of the means used to win liberty in Latin America.

History's Testimony

I once asked Haya de la Torre why the Apristas never attempted to assume power through an armed revolution. His reply was that although the Apristas are not pacifists, they are convinced that the experience of history demonstrates that the use of violence in politics exposes its users to the danger of degenerating into complete dependence on violence. In the Rus-



The Author

Dr. Harry Kantor teaches Latin American government at the University of Florida. His preoccupation with politics and government seems both profession and hobby. Recently he was a guest of our government at

the inauguration in Costa Rica of President Jose Figueres. Vacation trailer trips with his wife more often than not take him into Latin America. A close student of the activities of political parties south of the Border, he is well qualified to tell FELLOWSHIP readers about the Apristas.

sian revolution, he said, force was used to get and keep power for the Bolsheviks. As a result, all the noble aims of that revolution have been forgotten and today power is the prime consideration in all the activity of the Russian government. Haya went on to say that this seemed to demonstrate that the means used to achieve an end were so important in determining the end that the Apristas refused to take any chance of corruption by becoming a violent organization. The Apristas apparently have no interest in getting rid of the present Peruvian dictatorship simply to set up another, even if they would be the top men.

The aftermath of the 1931 presidential election in Peru would seem to corroborate this. After the election many of the Apristas, enraged at being cheated out of victory, wanted to use arms to prevent Sanchez Cerro from taking office. According to Aprista spokesmen, this was avoided because they did not think force would help Peru. Also at that time, Haya

pointed out that the Aprista movement was not created to elect him president but to educate the Peruvian people for democracy.

Despite the Apristas' repudiation of violence and their insistence on obtaining power through peaceful means, various governments have accused them of terrorism and murder and of having attempted armed revolt. In 1948, for example, President Bustamante charged the movement with "inciting openly to subversion and murderous conflict." It is also "on record" that Aprista leaders shot their way out of police traps during the years that they lived in hiding. Language to justify violence in politics, however, cannot be found in Aprista writings; nor can incitation to revolt be found.

In an age when graft, corruption and violence prevail in politics, Aprista insistence on nonviolence and the need for the transformation of the individual as the prerequisite to political reform distinguishes this movement as an attempt to practice new political methods.

Our Greatest Enemy

Gandhi was not a pacifist in the popular or accepted sense of the term. He did not consider violence as the greatest evil that can befall individuals or nations. Rather he considered fear as the greatest evil from which mankind suffers. It is our greatest enemy. Therefore, the first problem that he tackled, whether in South Africa or India, was that of elimination of fear. . . .

What Gandhi did in 1920, when he inaugurated his first India-wide satyagraha movement, was to take away this great fear. He took away the fear of the British, the fear of the police, the fear of the magistracy, the jails, the lathi charges, and even bullets. . . . Gandhiji wanted people to be not only brave but fearless.

Acharya Kripalani in
Gandhian Outlook and Techniques

Houser Prepares for African Trip

At its December meeting the National Council gave its final approval to a trip by George Houser, National Projects Secretary, to Central Africa, with side trips to as many countries as he can profitably touch upon.

Leaving in May, George will spend his first week in London, to speak to key persons there interested in the African problem from the non-colonial point of view and to meet with African chieftains who might be there for consultation with the Colonial Office or in involuntary exile. The Gold Coast will be his first African stop; Belgian Congo will be visited somewhat, and then Kenya and Uganda.

Most of George's time and mission work will be devoted to the countries of the Central African Federation—Nyasaland, Northern and Southern Rhodesia.

African National Congress leaders are strong in their condemnation of both the Federation and how legislation for its establishment was passed against the well-nigh universal opposition of the native population. It is with these leaders that George will consult. One has written of George's impending visit in these words:

"As I see it, the objectives of your visit would be: First, to obtain firsthand information about the nonviolent resistance move-

ment. Second, to make contact with the leaders of the movement among all racial groups, to gain their confidence and to assure them of moral support which freedom-loving peoples in (the U.S.A.) and elsewhere are giving to their struggle, and in particular to the methods employed in the struggle. Third, to share with the leaders of the movement American experience with regard to the methods and techniques of bringing about social changes by nonviolent methods. Fourth, to put at the disposal of the leaders George's wide experience in methods of organization."

German Stamp Pleads for Prisoners

The words on a postage stamp currently in use in Western Germany read: "Remember our prisoners!" The reference is to the thousands of German prisoners of war, sentenced for war crimes in one-sided trials after World War II and still living on in Allied prisons. By official Western statistics, the U.S. holds 289 of these, Britain, France and the other victorious powers less. Russia claims she is holding 8,000. The publicity given these prisoners through a commemorative stamp demonstrates how deep the feeling of this one-sided imprisonment runs among the Germans. There is no single

soldier of the victor powers in a German jail for war crimes.

Campaign Inspires New Literature

The literature wing of the Fellowship has been hard at work this winter preparing new materials for the membership campaign that begins next month. Most of this literature is now ready for distribution.

Perhaps the most significant single item is the brought-up-to-date version of A. J. Muste's trenchant pamphlet on dictators. "How To Deal With a Dictator" presents the case for getting rid of dictators by tackling, first, the causes behind people's need for, and easy acquiescence to dictators. "It's Your Choice" brings to the attention of youth the possibility of being volunteers for peace rather than draftees for war. "Deserter from Technology" is the story, in his own words, of a scientist who has recently renounced his profession because of its obvious alliance with war. Other titles are: "Jesus and the Way of Peace," "We Share a Common Task," and "Why Should I Join the F.O.R.?"

Quirino Frees Japanese War Criminals

A complete pardon for fifty-two Japanese still held by the Philippine government for "war crimes" was one of the last official acts of retiring President Elpidio Quirino, officials of the International FOR learned early in January from their representatives in Japan.

The pardon represents the suc-

cessful culmination of an effort on the part of IFOR and others that began shortly after World War II ended. Many of those originally held had been under sentence of death, and some had been executed. Commutation of death sentences to life imprisonment, and removal of all remaining prisoners from the Philippines to Japan a few months ago, foreshadowed the latest move.

"Actual guilt of many of the men never was established even under the vague tenets of international law," explained John Nevin Sayre, IFOR chairman. "They were sentenced during a period of understandable intense hostility and desire for revenge."

Observing that the Philippines had suffered more acutely than other areas at the hands of the Japanese, Mr. Sayre expressed the hope that other countries will follow this Pacific nation's example of generosity and forgiveness. More than 800 Japanese prisoners still were held in mid-December by the former Allied nations, including 320 by the United States, 97 by Great Britain, 204 by the Netherlands, and 161 by Australia. Only action on the part of these nations will effect the release of the remaining prisoners.

Adverse Decision Being Appealed

Vern Davidson, a student at the University of California, has been sentenced to three years in Federal prison for refusing Army induction. He is a humanitarian and political objector to the draft.

In a trial lasting three days, and highlighted by the refusal of the F.B.I. to surrender its files on

Davidson, Defense Attorney J. B. Tietz pointed out that the defendant had been denied due process in that he was not given a copy of the recommendations of the Hearing Officer and was denied a second hearing. He pointed out that the summary of the F.B.I. report was inaccurate and that to rule an objector must believe in a Supreme Being would deny consideration as conscientious objectors to many religious persons, including all Unitarians. The government contended that since Davidson was an agnostic, he was not even entitled to routine hearing under the law.

The case is important in that if the government is upheld a precedent has been set that local boards not only do not have to grant exemption to non-religious CO's, they may refuse even to consider their cases or grant hearings, without being in jeopardy of denying due process. In order that the case may be appealed, a defense committee has been set up.

On November 30 the Supreme Court decided the *George Lewis Dickinson vs. U.S.* case. (See October issue, p. 24) Dickinson, claiming to be a minister of the Jehovah's Witness sect, had been classified I-A and convicted for refusing to submit to induction. The Court held that this classification was improper and reversed the conviction. There had been, it agreed, no basis for the denial to Dickinson of ministerial exemption. Although the draft act provides that classification by Selective Service shall be final," the majority opinion of the Court was that the courts could intervene if there was "no basis in fact" for the draft classification. The Court felt that this was so in

this case, the record clearly showing Dickinson to have been ordained as a minister according to the ritual of his sect.

The dissenting opinion, voiced by Justices Jackson, Minton and Burton, would restrict the right of the courts to interfere with a classification only if there is affirmative proof that a draft board has misconstrued the law or acted arbitrarily.

The Immigration and Naturalization Service has started new proceedings against *Vasyl Sereda* in an effort to have him deported. The Board of Immigration Appeals had just reversed an earlier Inquiry Officer ruling that Sereda committed a crime of "moral turpitude" when he refused to report for Army induction. (See p. 26, Nov. issue for details.) The new case is based on that section of the McCarran Act which allows the Attorney General to declare an alien undesirable, and therefore eligible for deportation, for the violation of any number of laws, including the draft law.

Council Election Results Revealed

The 1953 election of the Fellowship's National Council resulted in four new members and nine returnees (members re-elected as old terms expired). Welcomed into the Council are: Helen Baker, editor of *The Churchwoman*; Roscoe Giffin, Jr., Professor of Sociology, Berea College, Kentucky; Wilson Head, Director of Cottage Life, Ohio Bureau of Juvenile Research; and Perry Saito, pastor, Methodist Church, Beloit, Wisconsin. Continuing on the Council are: Shirley

Boden, FOR Treasurer and Director of Morningside Cooperative Housing Development; Mrs. B. W. Hamilton, Assistant FOR Treasurer; Ruth Lantz, editor of *The Shepherdess*; Charles Lawrence, Professor of Sociology, Brooklyn College; John Oliver Nelson, Yale Divinity School faculty; Culbert Rutenber, Eastern Baptist Theological Seminary faculty; Arthur Swift, Union Theological Seminary faculty; Norman Whitney, faculty of Syracuse University; and Herman Will, Jr., Methodist Board of World Peace.

"Third Camp" Concept Still in the Making

The idea that there is latent within the peoples of the world enough spiritual force for a substantial "third camp" movement that rejects the claims of both the East and the West in the current critical struggle for power has been bandied about quite a bit lately. A. J. Muste has often expressed his concern for such a union of diverse nonviolent groups and recently attended several meetings built around the Third Camp theme.

The first of these was a Conference-Seminar sponsored by the Peacemakers, a radical pacifist group, in Chicago in October. About 100 persons attended. Three concepts of the Third Camp emerged from these sessions: (1) It must be revolutionary, not conformist, in nature; (2) It is universal and supranational in scope, and is not merely a collection of national Third Camp parties; and (3) Nonviolence is the heart of the Third Camp. "Democracy ceases to be democracy," reads the Peacemaker Third Camp Declaration, "when it

seeks to base itself on coercion and violence rather than upon consent."

The Third Camp concept that can be drawn from the late November Third Camp Conference held in New York concurs on points (1) and (2) above, but on point (3), strong disagreement was evident between the radical pacifists and the radical socialists sponsoring the conference. Nonviolence is no longer the "heart" of the Third Camp; rather the Third Camp seems to be made up of that common patch of ground on which both pacifists and socialists can stand as they oppose capitalism, Stalinism, totalitarianism, McCarthyism and the cold war.

A Third Camp Contact Committee is the residue of this latter conference. This committee, made up of representatives of those organizations which were able to collaborate fruitfully in preparing for and conducting this conference, will draft a brief Third Camp Statement and circulate it widely for the signatures of interested persons and organizations throughout the world. It will also try to publish a modest bulletin of Third Camp progress and will serve, in fact, as a contact committee.

The organizations which sponsored this conference are: Independent Socialist League, Libertarian Socialist Committee, Peacemakers, Socialist Youth League, Young People's Socialist League, and the West Coast Young People's Socialist League (Socialist Party—U.S.A.). An excellent full report of conference details, including excerpts from major addresses and the complete text of a provisional Third Camp Statement, appears in the December 14 issue of *Labor Action* (114 West 14th Street, New York 11, New York).

Jottings

The 680 students of the Summit, N. J. Junior High School are no longer—at least officially—"future citizens of the world." At the insistence of the local Veterans of Foreign Wars Post, the phrase has been deleted from the school pledge. For 15 years, students have been pledging, in addition to their Allegiance to the Flag: "I, a student of Summit Junior High School and a future citizen of the world, promise to obey and uphold the laws of my country and school. Therefore, I must be loyal, courteous and trustworthy and work for the health, success and happiness of all people."

This year's National Conference will not follow the regional pattern of last year's. A small liberal arts college in the Chicago area will be the site; Labor Day weekend the time, with a workshop beginning the preceding Tuesday; the theme—Outlook for Peace. It is hoped that summer camps for families will be part of each region's program.

The Rev. Charles M. Jones, whose dismissal from the Chapel Hill (N.C.) Presbyterian church last February made "news," has resigned his ministry in the Presbyterian Church in the U.S. (Southern). About 140 adults, many of them former Chapel Hill parishioners, are organizing a new non-denominational church, to which Mr. Jones has been called. Charter

members of the new congregation have adopted a statement which reads: "Chapel Hill needs a worshipping, working fellowship of people from varied backgrounds and faiths, a church of open membership free from denominational limitations, a spiritual home wherein there is unity in Christian essentials, liberty in non-essentials and charity in all things."

Among other activities, participants of last summer's Congress of Racial Equality workshop in Washington, D. C., conducted a poll of downtown sidewalk traffic, asking the question, "Would you buy in a store having white and colored sales clerks?" Of the nearly 1,000 persons who responded, 87 percent said Yes. A breakdown by race indicates 82 percent of the white, and 98 percent of the Negro interviewees voting for integration.

Books to be considered for the 1954 Jane Addams Children's Book Award that the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom will present in September should be sent, in their printed form, to Mrs. Trevor Teele, 131 Judd Falls Road, Ithaca, New York, by the first of July. Understanding of destructive impulses, the overcoming of prejudice, the constructive, nonviolent handling of a child's problem—these are the themes the award honors. (Eva Knox Evans' *People Are Important* received the 1953 award.)



The Counting of Noses

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

Since the end of the second world war we all have felt a decided change in pacifist emphasis—the movement becoming less outgoing than ingrowing, less expansive than intensive, less interested in increasing the number of pacifists than in perfecting the quality of those already in our ranks. Accordingly we are to some extent displacing street meetings with work camps, public propaganda with private study courses, and the direct attack on war with discussion of the personal problems of the pacifist.

Pacifists are of sterner stuff than to run to cover for fear of McCarthy and the F.B.I., and even the usual post-war letdown and discouragement have lasted too long. There is a distinct change in the aims and point of view of pacifists—religious and otherwise; quality rather than quantity seems to have become our goal. In the building up days of our movement, however—the twenties and thirties—our organizations made much of numbers, considering that meeting the most successful which produced the greatest number of signers of our declaration, and even informing the government regularly as to our growth. Recently, however, it is rare that a speaker asks for members after his discussion, and our groups emphasize far less the multiplication of pacifists than the improvement in the quality of members.

Quality is indeed important and from an ethical point of view one pacifist of character, activity and wide information is more to be desired than fifty whose opposition to

war goes no farther than the declaration never to support war. Yet if we really yearn to do away with this curse of humanity, numbers are the decisive factor. Wars are made by governments, governments by majorities, and majorities by the counting of noses.

JESSIE WALLACE HUGHAN
New York City

Persecution of Mormons

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

Have you read about the recent arrest of the Mormon fundamentalists because of their polygamy? They had their own cooperative community in the desert between Arizona and Utah which the state of Arizona is now trying to destroy. The state has broken up the families, separating the husbands and fathers from their wives and children. At the trial that is due to come up early in 1954 the state wants to levy such heavy fines that it can confiscate all their homes and tear them down. When the state police descended upon the town of Short Creek the community did not resist, but submitted peaceably.

These Mormons are strict religious people, living in the kind of marriage that their conscience and religious beliefs dictate. In their cooperative enterprise called the United Effort they hold all things in common, a modern experiment in Christian communism. They are a peaceful community without a jail, but their homes have been broken up in totalitarian fashion by the state in the

guise of protecting morality and decency. There is no law in Arizona prohibiting polygamy, but laws of sexual behavior which are unenforced more often than not, are being used against them. This appears to be essentially a case of discrimination against a minority for its religious beliefs which are non-conformist in our society.

Even if we were not interested in the recognition of freedom of conscience, we pacifists should be concerned for the preservation of an experiment in cooperative living by a group which practices nonviolent resistance to persecution. Are there no pacifists who will raise their voices against the molesting of this people?

R. W. YOHN
Elgin, Illinois

An Invitation

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

We have decided to start a small Bruderhof Community in the United States. This decision has been maturing among us for some time. During the past five years the work of our members in the States has brought us into contact with the growing search here for new values and new ways of living. The number of friends visiting us from there has been steadily increasing. So, this year the question of whether and when to start something more permanent in the States simply answered itself; most of these friends with us have felt it is a matter of inner necessity that we now commence a Bruderhof in the U.S.A.

We should like to ask all who have an earnest desire to try community life with us to write and let us know about themselves. Also friends can help by telling us where and how we might get a suitable house or houses and land. We would welcome suggestions about the kind of small industry the community might begin or work at. Others might have small industries to place at our disposal. Finally, we will need financial help for the

start. Our address for all letters on these questions: Society of Brothers, c/o Clements, 29 Lafayette Ave., Had-donfield, N. J.

THE BRUDERHOF COMMUNITIES
IN PARAGUAY

The Question of Equality

The Editors,

FELLOWSHIP:

I believe the statement of purpose of the F.O.R. needs rewording. The emphasis should be on the ethical nature of the Creator and the belief that we are only equal humans under

"a great human document"

Thus concludes Nels Ferré, himself an outstanding theologian and writer, about **The Politics of Repentance**. We are proud to be the publisher of this new André Trocmé work. Full of novel and challenging ideas, it **is** a great human document. Order a copy today and judge for yourself. For \$2 you'll be getting a book calculated to make you ask yourself some important questions of faith and action.

Fellowship Publications

21 Audubon Avenue
New York 32,
N. Y.

him. This brings racial questions to the plane of equality; it is true of the economic situation also. Let's not talk of a Christian God, but emphasize the "Creator" that all religions can understand (as per Gandhi).

This also takes emphasis away from participating in war; for as long as the system lasts, we are all participants. As long as some of us think we are purer and more holy, we cannot conciliate even with our own selves. War is, after all, only the end result of an inadequate peace program.

MARTIN A. MILLER
South Lyon, Michigan

Many Birthdays

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

The true spirit of Christmas and of Brotherhood Sunday we all cherish and wish to have continued throughout the year. It would be quite simple to extend these times of fellowship and joy. Most of the world and some of our own neighbors adhere to other than the Christian faith. Each of their religions has a birthday or other event similar to Christmas as a time of rejoicing and thanks. Buddhists celebrate their birthday in April and May, Moslems in November.

To expand this joyful and generous atmosphere we might individually and in groups become acquainted with neighbors of other faiths and observe with them their traditional events. In so doing we would recognize and tend to live more by those ethics common to all religions. This emphasis and demonstration of universal teachings would bring more harmony to a world now united physically in technology.

Groundwork for interfaith unity has been laid in far parts by wise Christian missionaries who, to gain acceptance, have long identified essentials of Christianity with like ethics in indigenous religions in their mission areas. To you who are reading this, may I suggest that you write

of your interest in interfaith unity as a means of world harmony—to FELLOWSHIP, or to the undersigned.

JOHN AFFOLTER,
4004 13th, South
Seattle 8, Washington

A Slight Penetration

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

It may be of interest to FELLOWSHIP readers that I have finally received a letter from our Baptist brethren in Moscow, Russia, after several years' attempts. I wrote many letters through many channels to many people, and finally received a reply. . . . I was never convinced of the complete impenetrability of the "Iron Curtain"! However, I do believe there are possible dangers involved, of which one needs to be aware. How my correspondence will fare in the future, I do not know. But I shall go on trying, in this small way, to help bridge the awful chasm between East and West.

REV. RICHARD E. MATERA
Brockton, Mass.

"Fashionable"

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

In sorting out my desk and discarding a mass of advertising and other material that has a tendency to accumulate, I ran across an ad (FOR leaflet "What Is the Biggest Issue in Today's World?") which interested me. I have no idea how old it is or whether the magazine is still being published but if it is I am sending a check for a year's subscription.

I have never considered myself a pacifist and have a tendency to adjust my thinking to the practical angle. I have a feeling that your point of view is in the process of becoming "fashionable."

Anonymous

Fellowship

"A Great Human Document"

The Politics of Repentance, by André Trocmé. Fellowship Publications, 1953. Cloth, 111 pp., \$2.

The Politics of Repentance merits reading because it is a great human document. As soon as I have said that, however, I must point out the fact that being written by a European, the book is going to bewilder many Americans no end. Some readers will be perplexed by the novel ideas it contains; others by a lack of systematic clarity.

The novel ideas make the volume an unusual challenge of one's present ideas. The lack of theoretical clarity, moreover, is not so much a fault of the book as an illustration of its contention that real probing is not theoretical, theological or systematic. Trocmé champions paradox, existentialism and confrontation, without succumbing to neo-orthodox despair. As a matter of fact, the very presentation of pacifism by a modern European fascinates the alert reader.

Trocmé's main thesis is that the State must remain the State and that, as such, it is the relative custodian of sanctions while the Church is the dimension of grace which can be had only by repentance. Precisely by its own repentance can the Church most effectively change the State, because it

introduces thereby a new dimension of grace. The man at prayer is, therefore, more than a cog in a determined historic nexus; he is rather a changer of society; man plus God spells creative change in history.

The place and the power of the Church is first and last to be Christian. The Church needs most to repent because it is the most guilty: in the light of its Gospel it knows most fully what is actually taking place. A new-born Church, freed of its guilt by repentance, can change history. "No hope is too great, in Christ." (p. 69)

The Church can be new-born, moreover, only by becoming non-violent. That is, it must stand with empty hands as the receiver of grace. The thesis of the book can be summed up in one sentence: "There are . . . no Christian politics, but the repentance of Christians and the change of conduct that springs from it can profoundly modify the course of political events." (p. 75)

I do not want at this time to play the full role of critic. I shall content myself by repeating that the book is a great human document on the level of redemption. The level of creation, however, is too readily left to "the world." Its problems are not faced in the light of God: what they are, how they came to be,

and what can be done about them. I feel myself that it may be as evil for a pacifist to wash his hands of this level of concrete political responsibility as it was for Pilate to wash his hands of the level of redemption which he confronted in the person of Jesus. A pacifist should work, wherever possible, on both levels. Nevertheless, I agree that if a decision has to be made between the redemptive community and political participation, the level of "the politics of repentance," for a Christian, should always be primary.

—NELS F. S. FERRÉ

A Compendium of Information

Man's Most Dangerous Myth: The Fallacy of Race, by M. T. Ashley Montagu. Foreword by Aldous Huxley. Harpers, Third Edition, 1952. 353 pp., \$.5.

Originally published in briefer form in 1942, the third edition of this widely read book, written by a Professor of Anthropology at Rutgers University, discusses the "fallacy" of race. It is a compendium of information, formulated in an easy literary style. It is suitable mainly for those who have many prejudices on race and little scientific information on the subject. None of its facts or conclusions are startlingly new; happily it contains only a small amount of *ad hominem* argumentation. Yet the book does have a point of view: negatively, that race is a cagey simplification; positively, that racial prejudice can and must be overcome.

Fortunately, Professor Montagu sees race as more than a problem in biology, although in the opening chapters he quickly dispels the older anthropologic notions of race.

He reviews the scientific evidence which wholly discredits the idea that certain races are inherently superior to others. He examines comparative physical structures and mental capacity to show that ethnic similarities are in fact more compelling than the differences. This sort of information is now rather widely diffused in our culture, but Montagu pulls it together and puts it into popular form.

After reviewing the evidence on the nature of race, Montagu goes on to apply available knowledge to a number of broad social problems. His chapter on race and war should be of special interest to pacifists. He is familiar with the idea, for example, long advanced by tacit and vocal militarists, that war is *homo additus naturae*, as Bacon remarked. But, says Montagu, nature is more relative and pliable than it is absolute. "Natural," moreover, has little meaning when used indiscriminately. In fact, the racial components of modern warfare are of relatively recent vintage and have not been characteristic of human fighting everywhere. Nor is it complimentary to man to compare his warring with the fighting of so-called "wild" animals. The natural basis for human warfare, then, as for racialism, is declared to be a stupendous fabrication of myth-making man, according to Montagu.

Probably the weakest part of the book is the final chapter, entitled hopefully, "What Is the Solution?" Working on the assumption that there is "the" solution, Montagu puts all his eggs in the educational basket. "If what I have said is true, then our only hope lies in education of the right sort." That is the solution: education—of the right sort. The right sort of education, it

is assumed, is that which is both scientific and takes the view of writer Montagu. But is education the answer? Well we remember Horace Mann's turn-of-the-century declaration that if public schools became a widespread reality in American life delinquency would be extinct in twenty-five years! Is not education still chiefly the transmitter of culture rather than its molder?

Montagu's use of "myth" in the title of his book suggests that there are non-rational factors involved in racial prejudice, as in war, which defy a simple educational approach. As Montagu states of the student: "When he leaves school and goes out into the world and attempts to behave like a Christian, he soon discovers that if he persists in the attempt he is likely to suffer the fate of Christ." Thus, it takes more than education to solve the problem of race, although education can help. It takes the spirit of Christ, applied fearlessly and with self-sacrifice, for we wrestle not only with men but also with principalities and powers in hidden places.

—HERBERT STROUP

A Manipulative Society?

The Organizational Revolution, by Kenneth Boulding. Harper and Brothers, 1953. 286 pp., \$3.50.

This is one of a series of volumes prepared under the auspices of the National Council of Churches on the general topic of the ethical issues involved in economic life. Its author, Kenneth Boulding, a noted Quaker economist, takes a good hard look at the phenomenal growth of organizations of all kinds these past fifty or one hundred years.

Organizations arise to fill a need, but however great the need, they fail to develop unless certain skills and techniques are available. It is the extraordinary development of these skills that has been the main factor in bringing about "the organizational revolution." Among them are the skills of communication, that enable larger and larger organizations to hold together; the skills of organizational growth, embodied in the promoter, the salesman, and even the missionary; the drive to expansion and the acceptance of growth as a sign of health; and the increase in the amount of leisure time available for participation in these multiplying organizations.

All of these factors have combined to produce an organizational growth which is truly phenomenal, especially if growth is measured not merely in terms of membership or territorial extent but by the part organizations play in influencing and controlling the lives of people. This growth produces ethical problems, which if not new, are at least of a greater complexity and intensity than in the past. Everything conspires to accentuate the conflict between the in-group and the out-group; loyalty to the brotherhood of widget-stampers or to the Republic of Demopatria conflicts with devotion to the ideal of the brotherhood of all mankind. Vested interests develop, too, in the continued existence of organizations beyond the period of their constructive contribution to society.

These difficulties reach an almost intolerable level in the way national states organize for "defense." FELLOWSHIP readers will be particularly interested in Boulding's treatment of this problem. He rejects anarchism, or complete lack

of organization, as impotent for good. But any organization that is not universal requires some means of maintaining itself against the encroachment of others, while an organization cannot in practice be universal without some measure of coercion. An extension of the state's monopoly of violence to a world federation, while not a real solution, seems to Boulding the only acceptable way out of the present impasse. But unless such a world government can meet the widely diverse needs of the various peoples of the earth, it may well find that it can preserve itself only by becoming a world tyranny. Some hopeful signs exist in the present dismal picture, but hopeful actions must be judged in terms of their motivation: "A foreign assistance program which is a recognition of the world responsibility of the national state is a symbol of its redemption; the same program conceived merely as an aid to national defense is a symbol of its damnation."

An effective world state would undoubtedly be able to prevent war, even if it failed to meet the needs of its people, maintaining itself either through its monopoly of force, or perhaps, even more nightmarish, through the application of social science to the securing of the acquiescence of the population. "Physical science merely culminates in the pain and death of the body under the bomb; social science may culminate in the damnation of the soul in the manipulative soci-

ety." To pass judgment on such a state, there is thus "no substitute for the Word of God—the sharp sword of truth in the prophetic individual. . . ."

—WILLIAM VICKREY

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A man came into the office the other day and asked for a dollar for a Worthy Cause.

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He was right, too. We could. As he left the office he said casually: "I'll be back in a month. You can always afford a dollar. Can't you?"

We can, too. If he comes back in a month, he'll get another dollar.

But it got us thinking.

Suppose he had asked for twelve dollars. As our "annual" gift.

Some months, we might be able to do it. Most months, we would not.

But a dollar a month equals twelve dollars a year. Which is the same thing.

We submitted the point to an economist friend, who scoffed.

"Of course it's the same," he said, scoffily. "If you can afford a dollar a month, you can afford twelve dollars a year."

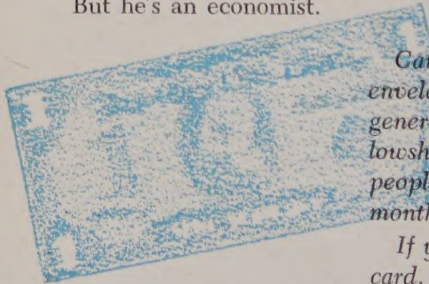
But he's an economist.

With money and ordinary people like us, he's wrong. Twelve one-dollar gifts come much easier than one twelve-dollar gift, or even a ten-dollar gift, or an eight-dollar one.

Maybe it comes down to the fact that there's almost always something that can be given up in a day or a week or a month that will yield a dollar. Even a meal or so, if it comes to that, and if the Cause is worthy enough.

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